1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits.

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned.

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors.

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above.

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter.

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance.

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual.

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/37 cont./

[507] [535] The festival begins with a procession of the masks through the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han hm han. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not [688] fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

[532] [535] [562] [688] If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or otherwise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes, she is punished by death.

Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain [839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever [966] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river. [978] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[191] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

·6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

527 535 through the encampment, who, having previously stolen away to the jungle and secretly donned their uncouth regalia, suddenly appear; and with a loud cry—"Han hm! Han hm!" rush toward the village, while all the villagers ejaculate loudly, in reply, "Nakum rare! Nakum rare!"—Here they come! Here they come! The procession is almost riotous, for the men throw billets of wood about in every direction. The parade over, all these imitation birds, bugs and beasts, or the materialization of their ghosts, retire again to the thicket, remove their gear, and becoming real men once more, quietly, reënter the village, and the savage banquet is brought on.

After some hours of "eating and drinking and making merry," the masqueraders again rush forth from the woods to begin the dancing. It consists of a peculiar hopping, turkey-step, and rocking the body from side to side. The dancer must not, under any circumstances, permit his real identity to become known to the spectators. [688] He must not speak, nor cough, nor sneeze; and above all, he must not allow himself to stumble and fall, for if he does, he will be immediately put to death. If he should be compelled to cough or sneeze, as frequently happens because of the dust and the suffocating heat under his mask, he springs into the group of men standing near, all of whom begin instantly to cough, and thus contrive to drown his voice.

The various dances follow each other according to a programme arranged beforehand by the chief of the encampment, who presides over the ceremonies and festivities.

535 567 688 If a woman of the tribe should enter one of the secret mystery huts, or should avail herself of an opportunity to look upon a masquerade outfit when not in use, she will be punished with death. It is usual, in such cases, for the other women to intercede with the chief for her life, and he will exercise mercy in her behalf if she will promise silence and will undertake some work of expiation, such as to weave a *hammock*, or braid a large, palm-leaf mat. If she should refuse to do this, or her work should prove unsatisfactory, she will

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe, he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret. It is said that among the Sambiõa, these masquerades are falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the masquerade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them, the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly, nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-places.

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 562 [346] this ritual and never seek to penetrate its mysteries. At any rate they seemed to keep at a distance from the sacred wigwam where the men ate and drank in tribute to the sacred fish.

535 562 627 Should a woman, however, so far forget her position as to enter this mysterious hut or should avail herself of an opportunity to look at this mystery dress, she may be punished by death. Executive clemency is granted by the chief, at the request of the women of the tribe, providing she will promise silence and expiate her crime by some appointed work. If she should refuse, she will be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods, at a certain height of the sun, where she will find assembled a group of warriors. Failing to comply with their desires, she may be killed and the body thrown into the river. Should she flee to the [346] sacred wigwam, however, this being sanctuary, she goes free at the termination of the festivities to resume her place in society.

126 535 Wishing to preserve the costumes as a memento of my visit among them, I asked the chief if I might take them with me. Reluctantly he consented, and ordered his men under cover of darkness to take them in a canoe down the river and await my coming. It was by this means that the costumes ultimately came in possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

FIG. 99.—Cayapó rattle

Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,